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DIRK VAN HULLE

TEXTUAL ENACTMENT: THE COGNITIVE 'RIVERRUN' AND THE 'FLUID TEXT' OF JOYCE'S 'ANNA LIVIA PLURABELLE'

O

don't

tell me ...

This is probably the reaction of whoever is not a fan of *Finnegans Wake*.¹ What an idea. To think that a text will start 'flowing' when you fill it with enough river names. And yet, that is what numerous readers of Joyce's *Anna Livia Plurabelle* have been willing to accept.² In this respect, readings of Book I, chapter eight of *Finnegans Wake* are a remarkable case of what Coleridge called the 'willing suspension of disbelief.' The reception of *Finnegans Wake* to a large extent hinges upon this willingness or unwillingness. Even before the publication of the book, when it was still called 'Work in Progress', the early defenders drew attention to the text's enactive or performative qualities. Samuel Beckett, for instance, famously wrote about 'Work in Progress' that Joyce's writing 'is not *about* something; *it is that something itself*' (emphasis in the original).³ Thus, the Museyroom is not just about the battle of Waterloo, it is a textual battlefield, a layered graveyard of war casualties; the fable of the Ondt and the Gracehoper is not just about insects, it 'buzzes' and 'swarms' with insects; and *Anna Livia Plurabelle* is not just about a river, it 'flows'. Moreover, the enactment of a stream evidently applies to the book as a whole, which forces its readers to plunge into a 'riverrun' of consciousness from the very first word

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onwards. This essay investigates to what extent this form of enactment also has a textual dimension, and how the cognitive 'riverrun' relates to the 'fluid text' of Joyce's *Anna Livia Plurabelle*.

In *The Fluid Text*, John Bryant defines textual 'fluidity' as 'the inherent condition of any written document': 'writing is fundamentally an arbitrary hence unstable hence variable approximation of thought. Moreover, we revise words to make them more closely approximate our thoughts, which in turn evolve as we write. And this condition and phenomenon of textual fluidity is not a theoretical supposition; it is fact.'⁴ Bryant differentiates his theory from genetic criticism, mainly because he believes genetic criticism focuses too exclusively on the writing process in the narrow sense of a writer composing her drafts. His concept of the 'fluid text' is broader, since it takes into account the 'adaptations of texts beyond the writer's authority or control.'⁵ In other words, 'a poetics of the fluid text is a poetics of revision, whether that change is induced by an individual writer, a social demand, or as is often the case, a combination of the two.'⁶

This 'combination of the two', however, does constitute a field of interest of genetic criticism, referred to as 'epigenesis', that is, the continuation of the genesis after publication.⁷ This 'epigenesis' is particularly interesting in the case of some of Joyce's pre-book publications. For instance, as soon as *Anna Livia Plurabelle* and *Haveth Childers Everywhere* were published separately, in journals and as independent volumes, they started leading their own lives. Nonetheless, Joyce kept revising his texts. This situation resulted in an interesting feedback loop between the production and the reception of his texts. The most famous critical reaction that had an influence on the writing process was that of Wyndham Lewis (leading for instance to the composition of the fables of the Mookse and the Gripes, and the Ondt and the

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Gracehoper). But the less conspicuous reactions in newspapers also had an impact.

Individually, they obviously did not have the same relevance as Lewis's criticism, but the sheer number of reviews, letters to the editor and announcements in the newspapers is so significant that — taken together — they do matter as they give us a sense of the climate in which these pre-book publications were received.

The newspaper clippings at Buffalo are an invaluable instrument to reconstruct this early reception.⁸ At the same time, they are more than just evidence for producing a publication history. From a cognitive point of view, they are also part and parcel of the 'extended mind' at work. If a work is already partially out in the open during its genesis, this exposure has an impact on the writing process. The epigenesis thus becomes a feedback loop between the 'private' imagination and 'public' reception, between what a text is meant to mean and what it is made to mean. This essay studies this feedback loop as a textual enactment of a cognitive process, described by cognitive philosophers as enactivism or the embodied mind. In *The Embodied Mind*, Francisco J. Varela, Evan Thompson and Eleanor Rosch introduced the term 'enaction' in the context of the cognitive sciences. They questioned 'the centrality of the notion that cognition is fundamentally representation'.⁹ As they defined it, 'enaction' denotes the idea that 'cognition is not the representation of a pre-given world by a pre-given mind but is rather the enactment of a world and a mind on the basis of a history of the variety of actions that a being in the world performs.'¹⁰ According to the enactivist paradigm in cognitive philosophy, the mind does not reside within the skull. Nor can cognition be viewed as the representation of a pre-given world by a pre-given mind. Instead, it emerges through the human being's interaction with his or her cultural and material environments.

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In this enactivist context, Joyce's practice as a writer is paradigmatic in the sense that his interaction with books, pamphlets, encyclopaedias, notebooks, and copybooks is an excellent example of enactive cognition at work. Moreover, as the essay will argue, 'Work in Progress' also *enacts* this enactive cognition. The case study is the production and publication history of *Anna Livia Plurabelle*. The emphasis of the essay, however, is not on the way the river names enact the flowing of water, but on the textual enactment of *cognition*, which involves all the versions of this text.¹¹

I. JOURNAL PUBLICATIONS

THE CALENDAR

In late September 1926, while Joyce was in Brussels, he wrote to Harriet Shaw Weaver that he wanted fragments of his 'Work in Progress' 'to appear slowly and regularly in a prominent place' (*LI* 245). Finding such a place proved to be harder than expected, though. Eventually, *transition* was to become this 'prominent place', but no matter how appropriate this magazine's name may have been for a 'Work in Progress', the real years of transition were the ones between the publication of *Ulysses* in 1922 and the first instalment in *transition*, when Joyce could not find a venue that could offer the slow regularity of publication he was looking for. At the same time, the restlessness of this period of transition also reflects the spirit of the age. In order to map the publication history of 'Work in Progress', it is useful to focus on the various magazines in which Joyce tried to get fragments of his new work published, taking Sylvia Beach's advice: 'The best way of following the literary movement in the twenties is through the little reviews, often short-lived, alas! But

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always interesting. Shakespeare and Company never published one. We had enough to do taking care of those published by our friends.'¹²

On a sheet of paper, preserved in Buffalo, Sylvia Beach once made a list of the early publication history of 'Work in Progress', starting with the 'First extracts in reviews'. The first section ('Reviews') does not mention *transition*, as it apparently represented a category of its own. It does mention *The Calendar*, though, but without number and with the parenthetical note '(not able to print a part of it ALP)':

'Work in Progress'

First extracts in reviews

Reviews

1 Transatlantic Review April 1924

Four Old Masters

2 (anthology) Contact Collection June 1925

Earwicker

3 The Criterion July 1925

The document

The Calendar (not able to print a part of it ALP)

4 Le Navire d'Argent 1er Oct 1925

Anna Livia Plurabelle

5 *This Quarter* 1925-6 Autumn-Winter

Shem the Penman¹³

This sketchy list only represents what Sylvia Beach recalled of this early period of 'Work in Progress'. But it is notable that she remembered *The Calendar of Modern*

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Letters. This magazine, edited by Edgell Rickword and Douglas Garman, was going to publish an early version of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* in the Summer of 1925. *The Calendar of Modern Letters* had already serialized works by such authors as D.H. Lawrence and Wyndham Lewis.¹⁴ On 27 July 1925, Joyce sent a short note to Sylvia Beach, asking her to make a few emendations to the piece.¹⁵ Towards the end of July and on 22 August, Joyce sent her more emendations. He expected the piece to appear in 'the September *Calendar*' (*LIII* 121); by mid-August he thought it would be the October issue (*LIII* 125). The *Calendar* itself announced it in its September number (see Figure 1):

We shall publish in October:

James Joyce: Section from Work in Progress

Wyndham Lewis: The Foxes' Case

Laura Gottschalk: Poems

Leonid Massine: A Note on Ballet

Cecil Gray: The Notes on Music, begun in September, will be published each month.

[insert Figure 1 here - portrait]

Figure 1: Announcement for the October issue in *The Calendar* (September 1925), The Poetry Collection, Buffalo

In the end, however, the piece did not appear in the *Calendar*. The cautious English printers of the magazine refused to set the text of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* without excisions, as Joyce informed Harriet Shaw Weaver on 6 September 1925: 'the

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Calendar printers flatly refuse to compose Madame Anna Livia' (*LIII* 127).¹⁶ They did though set up 'a partial set of galley proofs', as Luca Crispi notes in the invaluable catalogue of the Joyce material at Buffalo.¹⁷ Three weeks later, Joyce had already arranged to publish the piece in *Le Navire d'Argent* (see Figure 2), as he indicated in a letter to his brother Stanislaus on 28 September 1925: 'The English printer of *The Calendar* refuses to set up a piece of my new book. It comes out therefore complete (the piece) on Wednesday in a Paris review' (*LIII* 128).

LE NAVIRE D'ARGENT

[Insert Figure 2 here - portrait]

Figure 2: Cover of *Le Navire d'Argent* (October 1925)

That the piece on Anna Livia Plurabelle quickly found a place in another magazine was due to the work of Adrienne Monnier and Sylvia Beach. Monnier's magazine *Le Navire d'Argent* aimed to introduce recent Anglo-American literature to a French audience. In June 1925, it had published T.S. Eliot's 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock' (in a translation by Beach and Monnier). In the October issue, four months after the translation of 'Prufrock' with its women who 'come and go / Talking of Michelangelo', the journal gave the floor to Joyce's washerwomen, talking of Anna Livia.¹⁸ Valery Larbaud, who edited the magazine for Monnier, did have second thoughts and privately expressed his doubts about what he called a 'divertissement philologique'.¹⁹ But Monnier and Beach fully supported Joyce's work and it is only fitting that advertisements for Adrienne Monnier's 'La Maison des amis des livres' and Sylvia Beach's 'Shakespeare and Company' (respectively 7 and 12, rue de

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l'Odéon) are printed side by side on the back cover of the volume that welcomed 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' (see Figure 3).

[Insert Figure 3 here - portrait]

Figure 3: Back cover of *Le Navire d'Argent* (October 1925)

The text as it appeared in *Le Navire d'Argent* opens without any typographical fancywork, only an indentation of two spaces before the opening 'O':

O tell me all about Anna Livia! I want to hear all
about Anna Livia. Well, you know Anna Livia? Yes,
of course, we all know Anna Livia. Tell me all. Tell me
now. (*Navire d'Argent* II.5, 61; see Figure 4).

[Insert Figure 4 here - landscape]

Figure 4: Opening page of 'From Work in Progress', *Le Navire d'argent* (October 1925)

The French press was generally positive about the heroic role played by Adrienne Monnier, sometimes styled the Joan of Arc of contemporary literature who defended ALP against the nefarious English printers. It is remarkable how often the adjective 'anglais' or 'English' is stressed in reviews that refer to the overcautious printers. In *Vient de paraître*, the English printers ['les imprimeurs anglais'] were said to have refused to print the text in its entirety, whereupon the manuscript came back to Paris ['le manuscrit revint à Paris le 20 septembre'] and the text appeared 'without mutilation' ['sans mutilation'] on 1 October in Monnier's journal, which was explicitly identified as a 'revue française'. Joyce's treatment of the English language

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as plastic, malleable matter [‘en matière plastique’] is compared to Rabelais’s French, when the language had not yet solidified [‘solidifié’], and the result is described in lyrical terms.²⁰

TWO WORLDS

Joyce was especially alerted to the dangers of his fragments’ exposure to public life in November 1925. On 5 November 1925, when Joyce asked Herbert Gorman if he knew anything about the *Two Worlds* magazine, he also wrote to Harriet Shaw Weaver that he was having ‘queer experiences with editors. New press opinions of Δ are: “all Greek to us” “unfortunately I can’t read it” “is it a puzzle?” “has anybody had the courage to ask J. how many misprints are in it” “those French printers!” “how is **your** eyesight?” “charming!” – This last from Mrs Nutting, who, however, heard me read it and indeed suggested my voice should be dished (misprint for “disced”)’ (LIII 131). And of course, the really ‘queer experience’ was the matter of Samuel Roth’s magazine *Two Worlds: A Literary Quarterly Devoted to the Increase of the Gaiety of Nations* (see Figure 5).

[insert Figure 5 here - portrait]

Figure 5: Cover of *Two Worlds: A Literary Quarterly Devoted to the Increase of the Gaiety of Nations*

Joyce’s mood does not seem to have been particularly gay when he explained the situation to Weaver:

Nobody here, not even Mr Ford, can solve the problem of Two Worlds. Huge advertisements have appeared in several big American and English reviews, the

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former costing, I am told, \$1000 each! I never wrote a letter or sent any MS to Mr Roth. He wrote (or roth) to me in 1921. I did not answer, I think. He also wrote to me on 25 September asking me to give him something and said he would buy the forests of Hudson Bay for paper etc. I did not answer. And yet number 1 apparently came out on 15 with a piece of mine in it (*LIII* 131).

On 5 November, Joyce asked Herbert Gorman: 'As since the death of Mr. John Quinn, I have no agents in America, I should be very glad if you could give me any information concerning a quarterly review entitled "Two Worlds" edited by Mr Samuel Roth' (*LIII* 132). Joyce's fragment in the first issue of *Two Worlds* was the piece on ALP's letter (aka the Mamafesta, or 'The document' as it was called in Sylvia Beach's list), which had appeared in Eliot's *Criterion*.

The third issue of *Two Worlds* (March 1926) contained 'Anna Livia Plurabelle'. As in *Le Navire d'Argent* the text did not yet open with the typographical triangle, but it did open with an O in a much larger font size (see Figure 6).

[Insert Figure 6 here - landscape]

Figure 6: Opening page of 'A New Unnamed Work' (Third Installment: 'Anna Livia Plurabelle') in *Two Worlds* I.3 (March 1926)

TRANSITION 8

[insert Figure 7 here - portrait]

Figure 7: Cover of *transition* 8

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In *Le Navire d'Argent*, the title 'From Work in Progress' had been followed by an explanatory note, emphasizing that the English printers of *The Calendar* had 'once again' ('une fois de plus') refused to print the text of the fragment in its entirety ('intégralement'). For the publication in *transition* 8, an English version of this note was typed to be included as a footnote on the opening page of the fragment.²¹

A London magazine The Calendar was to have printed in October (1925) a fragment of the unpublished work by James Joyce. The English printers—once again—refused to set up the text as it stood. The editors of *The Calendar* requested the author to make certain modification. Mr. Joyce refused to discuss the question and recalled the manuscript. For the benefit of our readers who are interested in English literature, we are submitting the incriminating text in this number.

(From *Le Navire d'Argent*, September, 1925.)

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Adrienne Monnier.²²

Another footnote appeared on the instalment's last page, after the 'hitheranthithering waters of. Night! (1)': '(1) This piece concludes Part I. of James Joyce's new work. The opening pages of Part III. will appear in the next number of *transition*'.²³ But the note was a bit too optimistic. The first chapter of Book III would not appear until March 1928. In the meantime, Joyce changed his mind and decided to publish a piece from Book II first.

transition's campaign to defend its champion was in full swing. William Carlos Williams addressed the pressing question as to whether Joyce's 'Work in Progress'

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wasn't actually a regression: 'Has he gone backward since *Ulysses*?' Williams is quick to deny the suggestion of his rhetorical question. According to Williams, 'Joyce has not gone back but forward since *Ulysses*'. He finds 'his style richer, more able in its function of an unabridged commentary upon the human soul, the function surely of all styles.'²⁴

At the back of *transition* 8, the volume contains an advertisement for 'The Surrealist Gallery – 16, rue Jacques-Callot, Paris (6^e)', name-dropping the greatest artists of the time, including Georges Braque, Giorgio de Chirico, Marcel Duchamp, Joan Miró, Pablo Picasso, Man Ray and Kurt Schwitters. (see Figure 8).

[Insert figure 8 here - landscape]

Figure 8: Closing pages of *transition* 8

Facing this advertisement, the number's last paragraph is devoted to Wyndham Lewis: 'We received the second number of *The Enemy* too late to answer the attacks Wyndham Lewis attempts to make on "the radical institutions" in the modern arts. We propose to state our opinions about his ideological confusions in due time' (see Figure 8). Lewis had clearly infuriated the editors of *transition*, and thus managed to force them into the role of *The Enemy*'s enemy:

We wish merely to say now that the general unreliability of his white man's intellect he rates so highly is shown by his complete misconception of *transition*'s trends. *The Enemy*'s blunder stems from a characteristic Anglo-Saxon prejudice that no venture in the arts can be undertaken for its own sake, for the pleasure it may give a few readers, for the charm which the element of research has. In the meantime we shall leave Mr. Lewis to the pleasure he

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craves of receiving the plaudits of that most despicable of vermin: the American and English literary hack.²⁵

As this reaction shows, the publication of 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' elicited criticism as well as eloquent defences, and 'Work in Progress' did not remain unaffected by this reception. To appreciate this feedback loop between reception and production, it is useful to explore this immediate reception by means of (a brief selection of) press notices.

The 'Magazines' section of the *Irish Statesman* (26 November 1927) called the new 'Continuation of a Work in Progress' the 'chief feature' of *transition* 8, and Joyce 'a man of very great literary ability, a virtuoso in the art of language', but continued the tendency in several contemporary reviews to complain about the unsound 'exercise of his power', which was simply 'a mistake'.²⁶ By contrast, the jolly report on 'The Very Latest Things' in *Punch* ('Evoe', 16 November 1927) is a welcome diversion from the painfully serious common-sense reactions in the general press. No comments on the lower-case *t* in *transition* here, but joyous mimicry: 'transition lies before me as i write. i have read a complaint somewhere recently that mr. punch is not sufficiently ruthless, not sufficiently wide and rude in his grasp of british existence. But it shall never be said that so far as the english language and english literature is concerned he does not try to keep abreast of the roaring stream, no, no.' The magazine is presented as 'the organ of the surrealists' and the opening of the 'Anna Livia' chapter (*transition* 8) is quoted as if it were last year's fashion: 'This is disappointing. This is not at all like Mr. James Joyce in the latest phases of his style.' But 'he improves as he goes on' and the latest Joyce – 'Don Dom Domb domb

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and his wee follyo!' – is cheered: 'That is good, and there is much more of it, free from the tiresome shackles of the Oxford Dictionary.'²⁷

In the subsequent months, no continuations of 'Work in Progress' were published, which was noticed by some reviewers. Harry Hansen ('The First Reader') in the New York *World* (17 December 1927) remarked that 'Transition is getting more coherent every day. In the present issue both Gertrude Stein and James Joyce are missing and the only writer speaking the new tongue is Djuna Barnes.' Hansen also noted that 'poor old Wyndham Lewis, who had the temerity to attack Transition in "The Enemy," gets nicely scalped'.²⁸

Joyce's temporary absence soon became 'a new and absorbing topic' for gossipmongers in the Paris *Times* ('In the Quarter', 14 December 1927): 'The rumor is that one of the high priests of modernism is weakening in his faith – that he may even recant. A short time ago he had a vision that perhaps, after all, the literary style which he evolved and which has given rise to a whole new school of writers, may not be art. A friend in whose literary judgment he has confidence frankly confirmed his suspicion. The blow was a hard one. What he is going to do about it the Left Bank does not know. It may be significant, or it may be coincidence, but the December number of *transition* does not contain a further instalment of his work.'²⁹ The editors of *transition*, Eugene Jolas and Elliot Paul, immediately reacted with a letter to the editor of the Paris *Times* (Friday evening, 16 December 1927), objecting to 'the baseless gossip about Mr. James Joyce', stating unambiguously that the insinuation that Joyce would have come to the conclusion that he was in error was 'cowardly and false': 'There is no question, and never has been any, of this work being discontinued in *transition*, and publication will be resumed in the February issue.'³⁰

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II. SEPARATE BOOK PUBLICATIONS

CROSBY GAIGE

During the first five years of Joyce's work in progress, the pre-book publications had appeared in magazines and collections. The first separate publication was *Anna Livia Plurabelle* (Crosby Gaige, October 1928). Two years later, it was published in a cheaper edition by Faber and Faber. Although, 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' had already appeared in *Le Navire d'Argent* and in *Two Worlds*, this did not prevent Joyce from making changes and adding passages. One of these passages was the italicized section (below), after the following account:

It was ages behind that when nullahs were nowhere, in county Wickenlow, garden of Erin, before she ever dreamt she'd lave Kilbride and go foaming [...] to wend her ways [...] in the barleyfields and pennylotts of Humphrey's fordofhurdlestown.

The account is then questioned: 'Wasut? Izod? Are you sarthin suir? *Not where the Finn fits into the Mourne, not where the Nore takes lieve of Blæm, not where the Bray diverts the Farer, not where the Moy changes her minds between Cullin and Conn and Conn and Cullin?*' But this suggestion is immediately denied: 'Neya, narev, naux and no!' (ALP, p. 23). The passage in italics was based on a note, which Joyce made on the back of a loose sheet of stationary from his eye clinic.³¹ The original affirmative description of the location is subsequently repeated in the form of a question:

Where the Moy changes ^{changez} her ~~mind~~ ^{minds moynds} myonds

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~~between~~^{tween} Cullin and Conn ~~and~~^{and twixt}

~~Conn~~ Cunn ~~and~~^{and twixt} ~~and~~^{and} ~~Cullin~~^{Collin}

Not where the Moy changez her

myonds twixt Cullin and Conn

and tween Cunn and Collin?

If Daniel C. Dennett's metaphor for the workings of consciousness in terms of 'multiple drafts' can be applied to the extended mind at work, this microdraft not only illustrates the process of 'thinking on paper', but simultaneously thematizes this process.³² The conscious self ('Moy') first 'changes', then 'changez', then (in the second draft) definitely 'changez' her singular 'mind', her plural 'minds', her 'myonds', her 'myonds', emulating and enacting the continuous mental revisions that make her change her mind. And when the fragment was inserted as a marginal addition on the marked pages of *Le Navire d'Argent* 'changez' changed into 'changes' again and 'myonds' into 'mind'.³³ On the galley proofs of *transition* 8, 'mind' became plural again: 'Moy changes her mind^{ds}'.³⁴ And on the page proofs 'changes' is crossed out and replaced by 'changez';³⁵ that, however, is not how it appears in the published version of *transition* 8, 'where the Moy changes her minds'.³⁶ And 'changes' was changed again into 'changez' on the marked pages of *transition* for the Crosby Gaige edition of *Anna Livia Plurabelle*.³⁷

These bibliographical and textual variants can easily be written off as merely cosmetic, but this textual make-up does reflect the making up of a mind — or minds — both on the level of the genesis and on the level of the text, that is, not just the writer's mind but also the evocation of the fictional mind at work. 'The pleasure of

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watching the mind at work' — that is how Fred Higginson described 'what is enjoyable about F[innegans] W[ake]'.³⁸ Higginson seems to interpret this in a rather biographical way, applying the topic of 'imagination' to James Joyce: 'What makes FW a great book is that there is in it as much of these pleasurable workings of *one man's mind* — the whole of it, shoddy and magnificent both — as has ever been put between covers' (emphasis added).³⁹

But there is a difference between the workings of Joyce's mind and the text's evocation of a fictive mind. The text is not merely a result of Joyce's imagination; it *enacts* 'imagination' and the workings of a mind. The text one happens to be reading, say a 1975 Faber and Faber paperback edition, is only one instantiation of the work in progress, or — to employ Daniel C. Dennett's metaphor — one draft in the 'multiple drafts model' that characterizes human consciousness.

Joyce's metaphor of the parlour game Chinese whispers to describe the mechanism of history, described by Sylvia Beach, is an equally apt metaphor for the workings of consciousness, and akin to Dennett's notion of the 'centre of narrative gravity'.⁴⁰ The 'streams of narrative' constitute a narrative self, thanks to a process of evolution from what Antonio Damasio calls a 'protoself' to 'a self in the proper sense': 'Within the narrative of the moment, it must *protagonize*' (emphasis in original).⁴¹ This may be an apt description of what happens in *Anna Livia Plurabelle*, or *Anna Livia Plurabelle* can be seen as a prefiguration of what Dennett and Damasio discovered only in the past few decades. ALP as a narrative self is the *product* of the 'streams of narrative' ('Tell me all'), not their *source* — to paraphrase Dennett.⁴² The streams of narrative issue forth only *as if* from a single source, or applied to *Anna Livia Plurabelle*, the opening 'O' is the effect of the streams of narrative on any audience ('I want to hear all about Anna Livia'), trying to posit a unified agent ('Well,

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you know Anna Livia? Yes, of course, we all know Anna Livia. Tell me all'), a centre of narrative gravity: 'O'.

From the perspective of Dennett's 'multiple drafts model', there is a cognitive dimension to the study of Anna Livia's multiple drafts and publication history, even to typographical changes such as the variants in the opening lines between the publication of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* in *Le Navire d'Argent* and *transition* 8, the 1928 Crosby Gaige edition, the 1930 Faber and Faber edition, and the opening of Book I, chapter 8 in *Finnegans Wake*. Whereas the journal publications did not open with any special typography, the pre-book publication by Crosby Gaige introduced the typographical Δ suggesting a river mouth (see Figure 9). But this triangle was limited to only two lines:

O

tell me all about

[Insert figure 9 here - portrait]

Figure 9: Opening page of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* (Crosby Gaige, 1928)

The version of the text as published by Faber and Faber has three centred lines (see Figure 10) as in *Finnegans Wake*, before the rest of the text continues with the left and right margins justified:

O

tell me all about

Anna Livia! I want to hear all

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[Insert figure 10 here - landscape]

Figure 10: Opening page of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* (Faber and Faber, 1930)

Every textual or even typographical change alters the way Anna Livia 'protagonizes'. And what applies to the 'protagonists' or the protagonizing character amalgams on the level of the text, also applies to the agents in the publication history. One of the textual agents in this particular case was James R. Wells. When the ALP instalment appeared in *transition* 8 (November 1927), Joyce received a letter from Wells (15 November 1927) on the stationary of 'William Edwin Rudge, Publisher' (475, 5th Avenue, New York City), of which Wells was the president. Wells was quite straightforward, requesting 'something for publication':

I am writing you again to recall to you our conversation of some two months' ago while I was in Paris. I wish you would consider giving me something for publication. If it were a small book of poems, or a small prose work running from 32 to 72 pages, I would plan to make an edition of 500 or 600 copies, to be published at approximately \$10.00 per copy.⁴³

Joyce, however, thought ten dollars a copy was too little. On 28 November 1928, he wrote to Ralph Pinker that he had declined an offer by the Viking Press, made to him by Harold K. Guinzburg in July ('Fifteen per cent royalties, of which a thousand dollars in advance, on a ten dollar publication'): 'I am advised that I ought not to undersell in America the privately printed fragment (*Anna Livia Plurabelle*, fifty eight pages) of the book I am engaged on, issued, signed to subscribers at fifteen dollars the copy, by Crosby Gaige of New York. If the Viking Press decide to issue the book at

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the same figure or a higher figure and renew the same terms, I will sign the copy' (*LJ* 275–6). However, the 'fifteen dollars' he mentioned had not yet been agreed upon with Crosby Gaige. Not until a week later, on 5 December, did Sylvia Beach send a reply to Wells, which mentions the fifteen dollars and was at least partially drafted by Joyce.⁴⁴ She had sent him a copy of *transition* 8, explaining that, although it was a fragment of a larger work in progress, it was also a 'book' in and of itself: 'The extract in "Transition" No.8 is the ANNA LIVIA episode forming the end of Part I; it is really a little book in itself.'⁴⁵

This ('it is really a little book in itself') is an important statement in that it makes explicit how Joyce saw the double status of his episodes: on the one hand as preliminary sections of a work in progress, on the other hand as autonomous books. In the particular case of *Anna Livia Plurabelle*, Joyce's reading of the newest version of this piece around 17 November 1927 seems to have convinced him that the episode had now reached a form of completion.⁴⁶

Sylvia Beach raised the matter of the book's price again: 'Mr. Joyce agrees with me that you should make the price of the copies \$15 instead of \$10 which you mentioned. I am sure that the demand for a book with the name of James Joyce on it would be large enough to sell the edition many times over.'⁴⁷ On 13 January 1928, after further negotiations, Wells sent a letter to Joyce that would 'serve as an agreement between us for the publication of a portion of your work in progress, entitled ANNA LIVIA PLURABELLE.'⁴⁸ In the accompanying letter, Wells also suggested the possibility of more book publications and he tried to obtain a few extra perks, such as a copy of *Pomes Penyeach* and the manuscript of *Anna Livia Plurabelle*. Three days later, Sylvia Beach sent Joyce's idea for the 'turf-brown' cover: 'If Mr. Joyce may give a suggestion, he would be very glad if the binding

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might be a turf-brown and the title in red letters inside a gilt delta. Also, could there be red edges, at least at the top?' Here, Sylvia Beach drew a sketch of what Joyce had in mind, probably based on the draft Joyce had made on a sheet of graph paper, cut (in the shape of a triangle) from Buffalo *Finnegans Wake* notebook MS VI.B.9,⁴⁹ showing a triangle in pencil enclosing the title of the book, written in capitals. Sylvia Beach copied this design in her letter, specifying that Joyce was thinking of 'red lettering' inside a 'gilt triangle'.

Joyce was clearly directing the whole enterprise, taking the liberty to include an introduction and even approaching someone to write it: 'Mr. Joyce has arranged for Mr. Padraic Colum to contribute a 500 word introduction to the work, as otherwise the intention and position of this piece in the entire work will be open to misinterpretation. This note is now written and a copy can be sent to you. If you agree, it would appear first in the *Dial* or some such review, calling attention to your publication. A full page announcement will also appear in the next number of *transition*.'⁵⁰ Joyce not only attempted to control the cover design by letting Sylvia Beach send a 'suggestion' to Wells, he also tried to adjust the content of the Preface, by making 'suggested additions' to Padraic Colum's text — supervising it in the way he would supervise 'the 12' for *Our Exagmination (LI 279)*.⁵¹

Through Sylvia Beach, Joyce kept putting pressure on the publishing schedule with urgent requests. Thus, on 6 February, Beach sent a telegram regarding the proofs, and another one on 12 April. But on 7 June, Joyce was still making revisions to the text.⁵² On the same day, the corrected galley sheets were received in New York and forwarded to Princeton University Press.⁵³

In the meantime, the marketing was already in full swing. On 1 February 1928, the magazine *Variety* had announced the imminent publication of 'a novel by James

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Joyce called “Anna Livia Plurabelle.”⁵⁴ The announcement (under the heading ‘Gauge, Book Publisher’) also mentioned that Bennett Cerf and Donald Klopfer, publishers of the Modern Library and the Random House books would ‘handle the distribution for Gauge’.⁵⁵ The Spring 1928 Random House catalogue featured a listing for Crosby Gauge’s *Anna Livia Plurabelle*, announcing it, not as a work in progress, but as the ‘new work’ by James Joyce: ‘*Anna Livia Plurabelle*. James Joyce’s eagerly awaited new work. 600 copies, signed by the author and designed by Frederic Warde. Ready in May. \$15.’⁵⁶

But the book was not ready in May. It would take another summer for *Anna Livia Plurabelle* to appear in this deluxe edition, with ‘Eight hundred copies printed’ of the issue with the ‘turf-brown’ cover, ‘Each copy signed by Joyce’, and a special issue of fifty copies with a binding in black cloth (see Figure 11) instead of brown, printed on pale green-tinted paper, watermarked ‘Alexandra Japan’.⁵⁷

[insert Figure 11 here]

Figure 11: Cover of the special issue of the Crosby Gauge edition of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* with a binding in black cloth

The book was published on 20 October 1928. Less than two months later, Gauge sold his publishing house. On 11 December 1928, he sent a typed letter to Joyce, notifying him that he had handed over his firm to his business partner, James R. Wells, whereupon Wells changed the firm’s name from Crosby Gauge to Fountain Press.⁵⁸

Meanwhile, in Europe, there was still some confusion regarding this new work. On 4 December 1928, *L’Intransigeant* did not know yet that *Anna Livia Plurabelle* had already been published in New York; it was announced as an imminent

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publication, called 'Anna Livia Pluribus'.⁵⁹ *Liège échos* (7–13 December 1928) echoed the misunderstood title adding an extra distortion: 'Anna Livia Plusibus' (see Figure 12).⁶⁰ In the context of Joyce's literary project, these are more than just instances of incompetence. Again, the 'Chinese whispers' logic of communication feeds into Joyce's view on history, and this feedback loop illustrates the enactive cognition at work during the publication history and simultaneous writing process of 'Work in Progress'.

[Insert figure 12 here]

Figure 12: Announcement of 'Anna Livia Plusibus' [sic] in *Liège échos* (The Poetry Collection, Buffalo)

One of the aspects that was immediately commented upon in the early reviews was the book's 'expensive format', as it was described in an unsigned review in the *Glasgow Herald* (Thursday, 19 April 1928).⁶¹ More than the later pre-book publications, *Anna Livia Plurabelle* was mostly received in the press as Joyce's 'new work', that is, the way it was announced in the Random House catalogue.

Nonetheless, it was presented as an 'episode' in Padraic Colum's Preface, which was indeed first printed separately in *The Dial* in April 1928, with a footnote indicating: 'To Anna Livia Plurabelle, by James Joyce (12mo; 72 pages; Crosby Gaige, Publisher; limited edition; fifteen dollars) this essay constitutes the preface'.⁶² The essay immediately opens with a crucial point by juxtaposing *A Portrait* with *Anna Livia* and implicitly drawing attention to the performative qualities of the latter: whereas Stephen Dedalus 'looked upon' the river ('In the distance along the course of the slowflowing Liffey slender masts flecked the sky'), the new work is different in that 'at once we are *in* the water' (emphasis added).⁶³

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This form of enactment is already quite special in and of itself, but it becomes particularly fascinating from a cognitive perspective when the water also operates as a metaphor for the 'stream of consciousness'. The notion of enactment — which was so important to F. R. Leavis (1952) and liberal humanism, and later criticized by Peter Barry — here applies to both a river and a stream of consciousness, i.e. the evocation of a cognitive process.⁶⁴ This suggests an interesting connection between 'enactment' in literature and 'enactivism' in cognitive philosophy. Whereas Stephen Dedalus was looking 'upon' the stream, the reader of 'Work in Progress' is 'in' it, in Colum's words; or to paraphrase Samuel Beckett again: the text is not *about* a cognitive process, it *is* that process itself. In this sense, 'this puzzling, discontinuous, and counterintuitive book affords greater insights into the workings of the human mind than is usually credited', as Tim Conley notes, not because it presents an explicit, philosophical model of the mind, but because it enacts, in H. Porter Abbott's phrase, the 'continuing incompleteness' of an enactive thought process.⁶⁵ A similar, implicit suggestion of these performative qualities of the text was made by Norah Meade in the 'Books' section of the New York *Herald Tribune* on Sunday, 13 September 1933: 'Joyce's matter is hardly distinguishable from his form.'⁶⁶

In addition to pointing out the performative quality of the text, Padraic Colum's essay in *The Dial* situates the new work, not only in Joyce's *œuvre* so far, but also in the genesis of 'Work in Progress': 'although it is epic it is an episode, a part and not a whole. It makes the conclusion of the first part of a work that has not yet been completed.' The pre-history of its publication is also explicitly mentioned on the opening page: 'The episode was first published in *Le Navire d'Argent* in September 1925.⁶⁷ It was expanded and published in *Transition* in November 1927. Again expanded, a title has been given it: Anna Livia Plurabelle'.⁶⁸

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One of the first reviewers who took this publication history as an invitation to perform 'A careful comparison of the first and last versions' was J. Leon Edel.⁶⁹ Interested not so much in Joyce's 'aims', but especially in 'his method', Edel tries to discover how 'Joyce begins to combine words, to deform them', giving Anna Livia Plurabelle 'a peculiar richness'.⁷⁰

Edel draws attention to the increasing complexity ('More complex perhaps is the sentence inserted in the second version "Reeve Gootch was right and Reeve Drughad was sinister"'), but he is careful in his appreciation: 'Mr. Joyce is giving us an important experiment; what will be its later value we cannot now estimate. But that it is worthy of consideration I am certain.'⁷¹ Edel suggests it is quite possible that Joyce is 'trying to do too much' and that there is a 'limit to the suggestive power of literature', but that is a matter of 'aesthetics', whereas he is interested in 'poetics' in the etymological sense of 'making' (Gr.: 'poiein'): 'What concerns us at the moment is method in *Work in Progress*; there is sufficient in it, I feel, to warrant a close scrutiny rather than a careless dismissal.'⁷²

The emphasis on 'method' makes sense against the contrastive background of the early critics' focus on 'madness'. 'The only water it all suggests to me is water on the brain', Gerald Gould commented in *The Observer*, Sunday, 9 December 1928.⁷³ The *Times Literary Supplement*, 20 December 1928, published an unsigned review that called *ALP* an 'experiment', which seems to suggest that no matter how crazy the experiment is, it is pretty harmless as long as it stays within the covers of Joyce's own work: 'We may be fairly sure that such an effort will not change the literary language outside Mr. Joyce's books, but inside them there is little harm and great interest in the change.'⁷⁴ *Vogue*, May 1929, reviewed *Anna Livia Plurabelle* ('a little book of experimental nonsense') together with *The Enemy* — 'full of fascinating observations

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(on Joyce and Stein and the contributors to *Transition*)' –, agreeing with Wyndham Lewis's suggestion that Joyce's work is 'a good example of the "Back to Infancy" movement' and a 'pendant to Gertrude Stein's *Tender Buttons*'. But then again, 'Mr. Wyndham Lewis deals out birchrods and codliver oil, thumbscrews and racks, Louis XI-like cages all round for anyone and everyone upon whatever errand caught.'⁷⁵ Anyhow, whatever Joyce was trying to do, it was all too vague for *Vogue*: 'What is it about?'—that was the question.⁷⁶

Arnold Bennett played the role attributed to him by Virginia Woolf (in her essay 'Modern Fiction') as a representative of the previous generation against which her own (including Joyce) was rebelling: 'The last of my rebels is James Joyce', he wrote in the London *Evening Standard*, 19 September 1929, praising the material appearance of the Crosby Gaige edition ('I am charmed to have it') rather than the content ('I cannot comprehend a page of it').⁷⁷ He only needed two short paragraphs to apodictically pronounce his verdict: '*Anna Livia Plurabelle* will never be anything but the wild caprice of a wonderful creative artist who has lost his way.'⁷⁸

The New York *Herald*, 1 October 1928, had already chosen the same approach, focusing on the material aspects of the book ('printed most artistically by Crosby Gaige').⁷⁹ In the *Irish Statesman*, 29 December 1928, 'Y.O.' — the pseudonym of George Russell, A.E. (Deming 1977 [1970], vol. II, 395) — similarly opened his review with a paragraph praising the outside, implicitly downplaying the inside ('if one could understand it'): 'This is a book for collectors'.⁸⁰ Sean O'Faolain reacted on 5 January, arguing that 'Joyce's technique ceases to serve any useful purpose. That the mind should be in chaos is not at any time desirable'.⁸¹ This led to a polemic between O'Faolain and Eugene Jolas, in which others joined. During this polemic,

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Cyril Connolly wrote a long review essay (*Life and Letters* 2 [April 1929], 273–90), presenting 'Work in Progress' as an experiment: 'it may be a failure, but it is surely an absorbing one, and more important than any contemporary successes'.⁸² Perhaps 'Work in Progress' was indeed an 'important failure', to borrow Auden's phrase, but as such it also drew attention to the importance of failure as a crucial element of cognitive processes, as scientists increasingly come to appreciate.⁸³ Quoting the end of *Anna Livia Plurabelle*, Connolly added between brackets: 'All this has to be read as carefully as it has been written.'⁸⁴

FABER AND FABER

While the press was making up its mind about what to think of Joyce's new work, T.S. Eliot suggested Faber and Faber might re-issue *Anna Livia Plurabelle*. He wrote to Joyce on 30 July 1929: 'A.L.P. has arrived from Paris and I have read it with real enjoyment. Personally I should very much like to carry out the project I suggested to you but I shall have to wait a week or so until I can even take the matter up as two out of the five Directors are away on holiday.'⁸⁵ On 22 August, Eliot sent the contract to Joyce, with an accompanying letter that explicitly deals with the price of the book: 'We quite agree with you on the question of price and are anxious to keep it down to a shilling if possible.'⁸⁶

It is remarkable that Joyce, who had urged Wells to increase the price of the Crosby Gaige edition to \$15, now apparently insisted on a cheap edition. In the Autumn 1929, the news started spreading that *Anna Livia* was to be 'published next spring by Faber and Faber in the *Criterion Miscellany* and its price did not go unnoticed.'⁸⁷

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[Insert figure 13 here - portrait]

Figure 13: Announcement of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* (Faber and Faber) in the *Liverpool Post*, The Poetry Collection, Buffalo

By February 1930, 'Brother Savage' in the *Liverpool Post* announced the news that Faber and Faber was going to offer 'James Joyce at a Shilling' (see Figure 13).⁸⁸ On Thursday 3 April 1930, the *TLS* announced its publication for 'Early in May'.⁸⁹

Anna Livia Plurabelle was published by Faber and Faber as number 15 in the *Criterion Miscellany* series on 12 June 1930.⁹⁰ On that day, the *Daily Herald* announced the publication 'in booklet form' ('Anna Livia Enters'): "'Anna Livia Plurabelle" [...] is published by Faber and Faber. Despite the employment of what is virtually a new language, there are rhythm and lilt in the writing that make fascinating reading.'⁹¹

[insert Figure 14 here]

Figure 14: Cover of the Faber and Faber edition of *Anna Livia Plurabelle*

By 29 October 1930, Eliot could report to Joyce that *Anna Livia Plurabelle* had 'sold up to date over 4600 copies – 57 last week' and he thought it would 'go on indefinitely, even after the publication of the complete work': 'and I think it will help the sale of the work [...]. We are more than satisfied'.⁹² By 27 January 1931, the number of copies sold was 5167;⁹³ by 16 December 1931, 6100;⁹⁴ by 16 February 1932, 6546.⁹⁵

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The *Aberdeen Press*, 12 June 1930, announced the booklet as 'Joyce's Outpouring', 'bound in a dun colour, as near as the publishers can get to the colour of the Liffey' (see Figure 14).⁹⁶ According to the Cardiff *Western Mail*, Joyce possessed 'a genius of such tropical luxuriance that it has become rank and poisonous', producing a 'murky stream of subjective meanderings' in which 'we can detect a moral obliquity'.⁹⁷ The *Yorkshire Herald*, 11 June 1930, treated it as the 'croonings of an old Irishman', 'a torrent of verbiage', 'the subdued soliloquy of a madman [...] who loses control over a cascade of ideas, memories and impressions which surges into articulation' — concluding condescendingly: 'You feel inclined to say: "There! there! steady now!" in soothing encouragement, but in your own *mind* you think: "What a pity! And with such a grand brain, too"'.⁹⁸

Even before the publication in the 'pamphlet series' was ready, some critics called it an abomination by the 'fallen' genius, 'sinking to a new method of verbal expression on which few normal human beings can have time or ingenuity to waste', as the 'sober' and 'normal' reviewers of the *Yorkshire Post* in Leeds reported in 5 February 1930, 'shaking their heads in sorrow over the fall of Mr. Joyce'.⁹⁹ In a section titled, 'The World of Books', the *Western Independent*, 20 September 1930, published a few 'Reflections of a Reader', offering 'an explanation of the phenomenon of Mr. James Joyce in the last score of years [...] to the pathologists and the Freudians': it was simply the effect of 'Encephalitis lethargica' on Joyce's brain.¹⁰⁰ The 'common-sense' view reduced the mind to the brain, explaining away the literary enactment of a mind at work as incomprehensible balderdash due to Joyce's alleged mental degeneration. Just like the reviewer in *Vogue* a year earlier,

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Notts Journal's C.H. Hodgson, 2 July 1930, called it 'sheer balderdash' and wondered 'in the name of common sense': 'Really, Mr. Joyce, what is it all about?'¹⁰¹

The latter question is symptomatic of the frequent unwillingness in the early reception to understand the whole point of Joyce's text, which — as Beckett wrote — was 'not *about* something; *it is that something itself*'. But there were a few exceptions. In November 1929, shortly after Beckett's analysis, Benjamin Crémieux also recognized the importance of Joyce's attempt to make language enact cognitive processes, allowing the words 'to reproduce the hesitations, the errors, *the drafts of cognition*'.¹⁰²

CONCLUSION IN MIDSTREAM

As the publication history of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* shows, the performative quality of this textual enactment also involves the 'epigenetic' feedback loop between the reception and the production, leading to a continuation of the genesis after publication. This excellent example of Bryant's 'fluid text' principle shows that *Anna Livia Plurabelle*'s central metaphor of fluidity also has a textual dimension, whose multiple versions contribute to the enactment of the 'stream of consciousness'. Far from being a monopoly of liberal humanism, this notion of 'enactment' denotes a quality of literature that is still relevant, and of course dependent on the willingness of the readers, not just to suspend their disbelief, but also to acknowledge that the enactment demands their active involvement in the making of meaning. It is understandable that it took some time for reviewers to figure out how this textual enactment functioned. In this context, it is interesting to see how the polemic between Sean O'Faolain and Eugene Jolas came to a halt when O'Faolain — in the October 1930 issue of *Criterion* — recognized that in his previous article he 'did not do

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complete justice to Mr. Joyce's new prose'.¹⁰³ O'Faolain now admitted that Joyce's new work could be 'tantalizingly delightful' if one did not maintain a strict distinction between prose and poetry, 'if approached as prose from which an explicit or intellectual communication was never intended'.¹⁰⁴ Joyce's 'Work in Progress' — and *Anna Livia Plurabelle* in particular — was indeed less of an 'explicit or intellectual communication' than a fluid text, not just an exercise in making language 'liquid', but a textual enactment of enactive cognition.

¹ The research leading to these results has received funding from the University of Antwerp's Bijzonder Onderzoeksfonds (TOP BOF) and the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) / ERC grant agreement n° 313609.

² In this essay, *Anna Livia Plurabelle* will usually refer to the work that was published as a separate entity (either in journals or as a book) rather than to the Book I, chapter 8 of *Finnegans Wake*.

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³ Samuel Beckett, 'Dante... Bruno. Vico.. Joyce', Samuel Beckett et al., *Our Exagmination Round His Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress* (1929; London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 14.

⁴ John Bryant, *The Fluid Text: A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002), p. 1.

⁵ Bryant, p. 62.

⁶ Bryant, p. 62.

⁷ Dirk Van Hulle, *De kladbewaarders* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2007), p. 9.

⁸ These clippings are part of the James Joyce Collection (Poetry Collection) at the University of Buffalo, described and annotated by Luca Crispi. In this essay, the University at Buffalo Clippings will be referred to as UBC, followed by the number of the envelope and the handwritten number (in red crayon) on the clipping. Other materials from the University at Buffalo's James Joyce Collection will be referred to as UB JJC, followed by the catalogue number. [See also the collection of clippings at the Beinecke Library, Yale University \(GEN MSS 112\).](#)]

⁹ Francisco J. Varela, Evan Thompson, and Eleanor Rosch, *The Embodied Mind: Cognitive Science and Human Experience* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1991), p. 9.

¹⁰ Varela, Thompson and Rosch, p. 9.

¹¹ This analysis is based on chapters one, two, three, and four of my book, *James Joyce's 'Work in Progress': Pre-Book Publications of Finnegans Wake Fragments* (London: Ashgate, 2016).

¹² Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company* (1953; Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), p. 137.

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¹³ UB JJC XVIII.G, folder 20.

¹⁴ Luca Crispi and Stacey Herbert, *In Good Company: James Joyce & Publishers, Readers, Friends*. An Exhibition of McFarlin Library's Special Collections (Tulsa: The University of Tulsa, 2003), p. 65.

¹⁵ Second carbon copy of the typescript, BL 47474, fs. 186r–202r; see *JJSB* 56-58. UB JJC VI.I.19, emendations for a duplicate copy of the third typescript intended for the *Calendar of Modern Letters* I.8 (1925).

¹⁶ See also Crispi and Herbert, p. 65 and Dougald McMillan, *Transition 1927-38: The History of a Literary Era* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff / Calder and Boyars, 1975), p. 180.

¹⁷ The Special Collections Research Centre at Southern Illinois University holds the 'Galley proofs of part of 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' which should have appeared in the *London Calendar*', SIU MS 1/8/975,

<http://archives.lib.siu.edu/index.php?p=collections/controlcard&id=2688&q=Joyce>

¹⁸ 'From Work in Progress', *Le Navire d'Argent*, Paris, II.5 (October 1925), 59–74. See also *FW* 196–216.

¹⁹ McMillan, p. 180.

²⁰ 'Ces quatorze grandes pages forment une puissante symphonie aux ondes tour à tour élargies et précipitées et s'achèvent en liquides sonorités nocturnes.' UBC 1: 983.

²¹ 'Continuation of a Work in Progress', *transition* 8 (November 1927), 17–35. See *FW* 196–216 and see John J. Slocum and Herbert Cahoon, *A Bibliography of James Joyce 1882-1941* (1953; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), p. 101.

²² *transition* 8, (1927), p. 17; see *JJA* 48: 173; Yale 6.1-1.

²³ *transition* 8, (1927), p. 35.

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²⁴ William Carlos Williams, 'A Note on the Recent Work of James Joyce', *transition* 8 (1927), pp. 149–54. Reprinted in *Critical Companion to James Joyce: A Literary Reference to His Life and Work*, edited by A. Nicholas Fagnoli and Michael Patrick Gillespie (New York: Carroll and Graf, 2003), p. 297.

²⁵ *transition* 8 (1927), p. 184.

²⁶ UBC 68: 587.

²⁷ UBC 68: 1149.

²⁸ UBC 68: 2165.

²⁹ UBC 69: 2053.

³⁰ UBC 69: 2053².

³¹ Clinique Ophtalmique Traitement des Maladies des Yeux | 39 RUE DU CHERCHE-MIDI [Paris]. Document preserved at Buffalo University, UB JJC VI.I.23.

³² Dennett compares the workings of the conscious mind to a process of editorial revision: 'These editorial processes occur over large fractions of a second, during which time various additions, incorporations, emendations, and overwritings of content can occur, in various orders.' See Daniel Dennett, *Consciousness Explained* (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 112.

³³ See *JJA* 48: 178; Yale 6.1-65.

³⁴ See *JJA* 48: 195; BL MS 47474, 215.

³⁵ See *JJA* 48: 209; BL MS 47474, 233.

³⁶ *transition* 8 (1927), p. 23.

³⁷ *JJA* 48: 221; Yale 7.7-23.

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³⁸ Fred H. Higginson, *Anna Livia Plurabelle: The Making of a Chapter* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960), p. 14.

³⁹ Higginson, p. 14.

⁴⁰ Sylvia Beach mentions that Joyce compared history to 'that parlour game where someone whispers something to the person next to him, who repeats it not very distinctly to the next person, and so on until, by the time the last person hears it, it comes out completely transformed.' See Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company* (1953; Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), p.185.

⁴¹ Antonio Damasio, *Self Comes to Mind: Constructing the Conscious Brain* (2010; London: Vintage Books, 2012), p.202.

⁴² 'These streams of narrative issue forth *as if* from a single source – not just in the obvious physical sense of flowing from just one mouth, or one pencil or pen, but in a more subtle sense: their effect on any audience is to encourage them to (try to) posit a unified agent whose words they are, about whom they are: in short, to posit a *center of narrative gravity*' (emphasis in the original). See Dennett, p. 418.

⁴³ UB JJC XI: James Wells to Joyce.

⁴⁴ BU JJC XII: Beach to James R. Wells, folder 1. A pencil sketch of the last paragraph in Joyce's hand is enclosed with the letter, kept at Buffalo University.

⁴⁵ UB JJC XII: Beach to James Wells, Folder 1.

⁴⁶ See report in the Paris *Times*, 19 November 1927: 'A night or two ago James Joyce entertained at his home a few of his friends with a reading from his "work in progress."' UBC 68: 2028.

⁴⁷ UB JJC XII: Beach to James Wells, Folder 1.

⁴⁸ UB JJC XI: Crosby Gaige to Joyce.

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⁴⁹ UB JJC XII: Beach to James Wells, Folder 7.

⁵⁰ UB JJC XII: Beach to James R. Wells, folder 7.

⁵¹ When Colum mentions the 'evening sun', Joyce notes: 'Perhaps you could slip in a phrase somewhere to let readers know that it – the whole book – deals with night, takes place during a night, etc etc.' He also suggests that the publication in *Le Navire d'Argent* be mentioned and wonders: 'Is it useful to point out that in most languages the river is masculine or neuter and a rivergod is worshipped as Father Thames, Tiber etc. cf., fluvius, flumen, potamos, elven, fleuve, fluss, flod. In Irish it is feminine. And all the heads representing the rivers of Ireland around the Customhouse, Dublin, are male heads except that of "we all love little Annie Ruiny, or we mean to say, lovelittle Anna Rainy when unda her brella" etc etc and etcetera et in fluvio fluviorum. E cosi sia.' UB JJC VI.I.7.b.i.

⁵² See, for instance, the following emendations: 'Mr. Joyce asked me to send you the following additional corrections in "Anna Livia Plurabelle": / Page 1 line 27 for "lough" read "loch" / Page 5 line 13 for "alas alacs" read "aleffe, the leaks"'. UB JJC VI.I.26: 'Emendations for the Second set of Galleys of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* (Crosby Gaige)'.

⁵³ *JJA* 48: 299-311 and 285-97; Yale 7.1 and 7.2.

⁵⁴ UBC 36: 2145.

⁵⁵ Apparently, the news of the change from the publisher William Rudge to Crosby Gaige had not yet reached Paris, for on 16 February 1928, the *Paris Times* announced: 'Joyce's new book [...] will be published very soon by William Edwin Rudge, the New York publisher', who had 'gained an enviable reputation for his finely-printed tastefully-bound books.' UBC 69: 2160.

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⁵⁶ UB JJC XVIII: Miscellaneous Material Related to Joyce's Works, G: 'Work in Progress' / *Finnegans Wake*, folder 6.

⁵⁷ Slocum and Cahoon, pp. 44–5.

⁵⁸ 'This is to inform you that I have disposed of my publishing business to Mr. James R. Wells and associates of 522 Fifth Avenue, New York City. In the future I expect that my only connection with publishing will be by way of my hand press. Frederic Warde and I plan to produce some modern books by old time methods.' UBC JJC XI: Gaige to Joyce, folder 2. See also Melissa Banta and Oscar A. Silverman, *James Joyce's Letters to Sylvia Beach* (Oxford: Plantin Publishers, 1987), p. 159.

⁵⁹ UBC 36: 2138. On 11 January 1929, *Die Literarische Welt* in Berlin was still announcing it as 'Anna Livia Pluribus'. UBC 36: 2137.

⁶⁰ UBC 36: 2140.

⁶¹ UBC 1: 2042.

⁶² Padraic Colum, 'The River Episode from James Joyce's Uncompleted Work', *The Dial*, April 1928, p. 318. UBC 1: 1998. In 'Footnotes', *Chicago Tribune*, European Edition, 5, Robert Sage added to the publicity by noting that Colum's essay was 'The first article to appear in New York treating James Joyce's new work as anything more than, at best, an unintelligible error of judgement or, at the worst, a deplorable sample of insanity.' UBC 35: 2047.

⁶³ Colum, p. 318.

⁶⁴ In 'Tragedy and the Medium', for instance, Leavis notes: 'We don't, when we are responding properly, say that "Shakespeare gives us Macbeth's speech": it comes to us, not from the author, but from the play, emerging dramatically from a dramatic context. It offers no parallel to Seneca's "high maxims". And the "philosophy", moral

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significance, or total upshot, of the play isn't stated but *enacted*.' See F.R. Leavis, *The Common Pursuit* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1952), p. 123. For his critique of this concept, see Peter Barry, 'The Enactment Fallacy', *Essays in Criticism* 30.2 (1980), 95–104.

⁶⁵ Tim Conley, "'Cog it out": Joyce on the Brain', *Joyce Studies Annual* (2014), 25–41 (p. 35); H. Porter Abbott, *Beckett Writing Beckett: The Author in the Autograph* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 20.

⁶⁶ Norah Meade, 'Books', *New York Herald Tribune*, Sunday, 13 September 1931, p. 1; UBC 34: 2024.

⁶⁷ Colum, p. 318.

⁶⁸ Colum, p. 318.

⁶⁹ J. Leon Edel, 'The New Writers', *Canadian Forum* X (June 1930), 329-30.

⁷⁰ Edel, p. 330; UBC 1: 1987.

⁷¹ Edel, p. 330.

⁷² Edel, p. 330.

⁷³ Gerald Gould, 'New Novels', *The Observer*, Sunday, 9 December 1928; UBC 1: 2144.

⁷⁴ UBC 1: 2049.

⁷⁵ UBC 1: 511.

⁷⁶ UBC 1: 511.

⁷⁷ Arnold Bennett, 'Three Modern Rebels', *London Evening Standard*, 19 September 1929, p. 7.

⁷⁸ UBC 1: 931.

⁷⁹ 'In the World of Books', *New York Herald*, 1 October 1928; UBC 35: 2046.

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⁸⁰ Y.O., George Russell, 'Anna Livia Plurabelle', *Irish Statesman* xi (29 December 1928), 339. Reprinted in *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*, edited by Robert H. Deming, Volume 2: 1928-1941 (1970: London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), p. 395.

⁸¹ *Irish Statesman*, xi (5 January 1929), 354-5; UBC 1: 2057. See Deming, Vol. 2, p. 397.

⁸² Cyril Connolly, *Life and Letters*, (2 April 1929), 273–90.

⁸³ See for instance the exhibition 'Fail Better', the Science Gallery, Trinity College, Dublin (7 February–27 April 2014), whose aim was formulated as follows: 'The goal of "Fail Better" is to open up a public conversation about failure, particularly the instructive role of failure, as it relates to very different areas of human endeavour.

Rather than simply celebrating failure, which can come at great human, environmental and economic cost, we want to open up a debate on the role of failure in stimulating creativity: in learning, in science, engineering and design.'

<dublin.sciencegallery.com/failbetter>.

⁸⁴ Connolly, quoted in Fagnoli and Gillespie, p. 313.

⁸⁵ UB JJC XI: Eliot to Joyce, folder 6. In addition to G.C. Faber, C.W. Stewart, R.H. I. De la Mare, and F.V. Morley, Eliot was one of the Directors of Faber and Faber himself.

⁸⁶ UB JJC XI: Eliot to Joyce, folder 8.

⁸⁷ *Criterion Miscellany*, T. P. & Cassell's Weekly, 12 October 1929; UBC 36: 1009.

⁸⁸ UBC 36: 1023.

⁸⁹ *TLS*, 3 April 1930, p. 289; UBC 36: 592.

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⁹⁰ See Roger Norburn, *A James Joyce Chronology* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 143. The information in Norburn is, however, ambiguous: the entry for 1 May 1930 reads: 'ALP is published by Faber and Faber' (p. 142), while the entry for 12 June 1930 reads: 'Anna Livia Plurabelle (now FW 196-216) is published by Faber and Faber' (p. 143).

⁹¹ UBC 35: 883.

⁹² UB JJC XI: Eliot to Joyce, folder 12.

⁹³ UB JJC XI: Eliot to Joyce, folder 15.

⁹⁴ UB JJC XI: Eliot to Joyce, folder 23.

⁹⁵ UB JJC XI: Eliot to Joyce, folder 25.

⁹⁶ *Aberdeen Press*, 12 June 1930; UBC 35: 904.

⁹⁷ 'Published To-day', *Cardiff Western Mail*; UBC 35: 903.

⁹⁸ *The Yorkshire Herald*, 11 June 1930; UBC 35: 900.

⁹⁹ *Leeds Yorkshire Post*, 5 February 193; UBC 1: 801.

¹⁰⁰ 'Reflections of a Reader', the *Western Independent*, 20 September 1930; UBC 1: 472.

¹⁰¹ *Nott's Journal*, Nottingham, 2 July 1930; UBC 1: 901.

¹⁰² Benjamin Crémieux, 'Ce que recherche l'auteur d'*Ulysses*, en créant ou en déformant les mots, c'est d'échapper au symbole abstrait qu'ils représentent, c'est de les rapprocher de la pensée, de leur permettre de reproduire les hésitations, les erreurs, *les ébauches de la pensée*, de reproduire le courant ininterrompu de la pensée' (emphasis added). UBC 33: 1018.

¹⁰³ Sean O'Faolain, 'Letter to the Editor', *Criterion*, (October 1930), p. 147.

Reprinted in Deming, Vol. 2, p. 413.

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¹⁰⁴ O'Faolain, p. 147.